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of 100,000 Japanese in this state and the 150,000 Japanese in the country at large. As the population of this marvelously prolific race grows and grows, what is to be the outcome? Their children born here are citizens, and their children will be citizens. There are 30,000 native sons and daughters in

California today. While the evil may be held down, while it may be minimized, it has gone too far to be eradicated. We are face to face with one of America's greatest problems, and it calls for the highest grade of citizenship that the issue may be met well and wisely.

Japanese in the Melting-Pot: Can They Assimilate and Make Good Citizens?

By V. S. McCLATCHY

Publisher. *Sacramento Bee*, Sacramento, Cal.

THERE are three principal elements in the menace threatened by Japanese immigration to this country. They are:

1. The non-assimilability of the Japanese race; the practical impossibility of making out of such material valuable and loyal American citizens.

2. Their unusually large birth-rate per thousand population, already shown in California to be three times that of the whites, notwithstanding that the estimated proportion of adult females to males among the Japanese is only 1 to 4, while among the whites it is, say, 1 to 1.

3. The great advantages which they possess in economic competition, partly due to racial characteristics, and partly to standards of living, organization, direction and aid from their government. These advantages make it hopeless for American whites to compete with them.

It should be evident that we can not encourage or permit in our midst the development of an alien element possessing these characteristics without inviting certain disaster to our institutions and to the nation itself. The evidence on each of these points is apparently incontrovertible.

As to non-assimilability, the first element mentioned in the Japanese

menace, there are three main reasons why it is useless to attempt the making of good American citizens out of Japanese material, save of course in exceptional individual instances. The Japanese can not, may not and will not provide desirable material for our citizenship.

1. The Japanese *can not* assimilate and make good citizens because of their racial characteristics, heredity and religion.

2. The Japanese *may not* assimilate and make good citizens because their Government claims all Japanese, no matter where born, as its citizens.

3. The Japanese *will not* assimilate and make good citizens. In the mass, with opportunity offered, and even when born here, they have shown no disposition to do so, but, on the contrary, pronounced antagonism.

There can be no effective assimilation of Japanese without intermarriage. It is perhaps not desirable for the good of either race that there should be intermarriage between whites and Japanese. The laws of some states forbid such marriages, but even where such marriages are permitted and encouraged, the Japanese themselves will not take advantage thereof. That is best demonstrated in Hawaii, where

there is a great commingling of races; but the Japanese, comprising nearly half of the entire population of the Territory, and steadily increasing in number, maintain in wonderful degree their racial purity. With a population of 112,000 or more the Japanese in Hawaii in five years have contracted marriages with other races, according to the report made this year by the Survey Commission—at the request of the Commissioner of Education, at Washington, Bulletin No. 16, 1920—as follows: Thirty-two Japanese men and four women were married to Hawaiians, a few Japanese men to Portuguese women, one Japanese man to an American woman and a few Japanese women to Chinese and Koreans.

The Japanese hold that their Mikado is the one living God to whom they owe their very existence, and therefore all obedience. It is not possible to make of an individual in whom that belief is deeply and firmly grounded an American citizen who can be relied upon in a crisis. This worship of the Mikado (Mikadoism, or Shintoism) is a part of the education of each child in Japan, and school children are by government decree forced to worship at the Shinto shrines.

Buddhism, which is tolerated in Japan, has Shintoism grafted onto it. Baron Goto, a prominent Japanese statesman, at a gathering of Foreign Board Mission Secretaries, at New York, in June, 1919, said he was almost persuaded to embrace Christianity; that with slight modifications he could do so.

It is upon such suggestions as this American missionaries hang their hopes that, by placating the Japanese in various ways, and more particularly as to their demands for free immigration and citizenship privileges in the United States, the evangelization of the Japanese, both in Japan and in this coun-

try, will be made very much easier through Japanese Government suggestion or influence.

The modification necessary or desirable in Christianity before Baron Goto would embrace it is probably a modification similar to that which has been made in Buddhism; that is to say, the incorporation therein of Mikadoism, or Shintoism, which recognizes the god character of the Mikado, and insures thereby the loyalty of the individual Japanese to the Japanese Empire, through the Mikado.

Professor Kunitake Kume, in *Fifty Years of New Japan*, the English version of which was revised and authorized for publication by Marquis Shigenobu Okuma, "the grand old man of Japan," said: "He (the Mikado) is regarded as a living Kami (God), loved and revered by the nation above all things on earth, and himself loving and protecting the nation, who are deemed sons of Kami Nagara, and are entrusted to his care by the Kami. This mutual understanding obtains between every individual Japanese and the Emperor."

In the *Japan Advertiser* of May 9, 1919, there appeared a translation of an editorial in the *Niroku Shimbun* of Tokio, from which the following quotation is made:

The Imperial Family of Japan is as worthy of respect as is God. The Imperial Family of Japan is the parent not only of her sixty millions, but of all mankind on earth. In the eyes of the Imperial Family all races are one and the same. It is above all racial considerations. All human disputes therefore may be settled in accordance with its immaculate justice. The League of Nations, proposed to save mankind from the horrors of war, can only attain its real object by placing the Imperial Family of Japan at its head, for, to attain its object, the League must have a strong punitive force of super-national and super-racial character, and this force can only be found in the Imperial Family of Japan.

From a writer long resident in Japan, and fully conversant with its language, its religion and its people, is quoted the following statement on this matter: "Mikadoism, or Emperor worship, is the sheet anchor of patriotic fervor in Japan—the soul of the body politic. The vast majority of the people have no other religion. It is not a relic of bygone days, but the very heart of present-day Japan."

The plea of Sidney Gulick and a number of his Christian friends that we make citizens of the Japanese and then trust to making good citizens of them by Christianizing them, advocates an experiment dangerous in the extreme, doubtful even as to a superficial change in religion, and certain to end in disaster.

The inherent incapacity of the Japanese for assimilation, their religious belief and ideals, bred in them for generations and taught to them the world over, which foreign birth and foreign residence do not modify, create a permanent and insurmountable barrier between them and that real American citizenship which would be of value, and not a grave menace, to this nation. They can not be transmuted into good American citizens.

JAPAN OPPOSES EXPATRIATION OF HER CITIZENS

The second point made by me against the possibility of making American citizens out of Japanese is based upon my statement that Japan does not permit it. We come now to the curious and inconsistent policy of our Government as to dual citizenship, the full viciousness of which is most apparent in the case of the Japanese. We recognize as an American citizen and extend all rights and privileges as such to any one born under the American flag, including, of course, the Japanese. Japan, on the other hand, rigidly in-

sists that every Japanese, no matter where his parents were born, and no matter what nation may have conferred citizenship on him, with or without his request, is a Japanese citizen, and must perform all the obligations as such.

Every Japanese born here, even if his forbears for generations were born here, but had not been permitted to expatriate, is subject to orders from Japan; is kept track of through the Japanese Consulate and other organizations, and is subject to call for military duty. Authorities on international law agree that, since the United States confers its citizenship on the Japanese born here, unasked and with full knowledge of Japan's claims, we must, in the event of war, recognize those Japanese as the citizens of Japan.

We are thus conferring upon the Japanese born here all the rights and privileges of citizenship, without any of the obligations; and we are certainly breeding in our midst a class of American citizens whose hand, we know in advance, must be against us in possible case of war.

Japan not only claims as her citizens all Japanese born on American soil, but she also takes great care that they grow up really as Japanese citizens, with all the ideals and loyalty of the race, untouched by the notions prevalent in this country, which would weaken that loyalty.

The Japanese children born under the American flag are compelled to attend Japanese schools, usually after the public school hours, where they are taught the language, the ideals and the religion of Japan, with its basis of Mikado worship. Here they are taught by Japanese teachers, usually Buddhist priests, who frequently speak no English, and who almost invariably know nothing of American citizenship. The text-books used are the Mombusho

series, issued under the authority of the Department of Education at Tokio. These schools are located wherever there are Japanese communities, and teachers in the American public schools testify that the Japanese children frequently are studying their Japanese lessons in their public school hours.

In Hawaii, this system of Japanese schools and its effect in preventing any chance of inculcating the principles of American citizenship in the Japanese upon whom we confer such citizenship, caused such wide-spread comment that the Hawaiian Legislature in 1919 attempted to pass a law providing that teachers in foreign language schools must know sufficient English and enough American history and civics to ground the pupils in the principles of American citizenship. That bill was defeated on the demand and through the influence of the Japanese who said its effect would be to destroy their schools.

Now, the survey commission appointed by the Commissioner of Education of the United States, reports in Bulletin No. 16 of 1920, that these Hawaiian-Japanese schools, if not anti-American, are at least not pro-American, and recommends that all foreign language schools in the Hawaiian Islands should be abolished, except for foreign children who can never become American citizens.

NOT DISPOSED TO BECOME REAL AMERICANS

It has been shown already why the Japanese *can not* make good citizens, because of their religion and heredity and non-assimilability; it has been shown also why they *may not* make good citizens, because the laws of Japan, efficiently and rigorously administered in the United States, as well as in Japan, do not permit them; it is equally true that they *will not* make

good citizens, and that the evidence of the acts of those who have resided under the American Flag for many years is conclusive on this point.

In Hawaii, where their numbers make them independent, and where they are now in a position to practically control the Territory, the Japanese form a separate, alien community, observing the laws, customs and the ideals of Japan; using the Japanese language, both in their business and in their schools, and bringing up their children to be not American but Japanese citizens, with all that loyalty to the Mikado which is a part of the Japanese religion.

The statement made as to Japanese policy in Hawaii is equally true of the Japanese in California, though, because of differences in conditions, the evidence has not forced itself as yet so strongly on public attention. The Japanese schools are found in every Japanese community in California where there are enough children to support them.

The Japanese, however, are not content to depend upon education of their American-born children in this country in order to make them loyal subjects of the Mikado. In the report of the Japanese Association of America, concerning its California census, as quoted by the State Board of Control, appears the statement that there are in Japan at this time about 5,000 California-born Japanese. That statement carries little significance to most people. It means, however, that there are at this time 5,000 of the Japanese born in California, that is to say, 20 per cent of California's Japanese minors, upon whom the United States conferred citizenship, who are now back in Japan being thoroughly instructed in the religion and ideals of Japan; so that when they return here they may serve, not as American citi-

zens, but as loyal subjects of the Mikado, to do his will and serve his interests.

The Japanese writer, C. Kondo, Chief Secretary of the Central Japanese Association of Southern California, in a very able article published in *Nichi Bei* of January 8 and 9 of this year, frankly acknowledges that the Japanese of California show no disposition to Americanize themselves, and that to this fact largely is due the antagonism which they have created. He warns them that this antagonism will increase rather than disappear, and suggests that they should move to the southern states, where their characteristics are as yet unknown. He adds, however, that if they pursue the same methods there that they have in California, they will encounter the same bitter experience that they are now undergoing here.

One reason why the Japanese show no disposition to Americanize themselves lies in their belief, passed down through generations, grounded into them in their schools, and a part of their religion (For is not their nation the only one on earth whose ruler is the living God?), that they are superior to any race on earth. Why, then, should they be willing to expatriate themselves and become citizens of an inferior nation?

The cockiness which many have noticed in the Japanese under certain conditions and on certain occasions, their pride and sensitiveness, their intolerance of criticism or opposition, are all due to this inbred and firmly established belief in their superiority. In the issue of June 10, 1920, of *The Northman*, a Swedish publication printed at Portland, Oregon, Miss Frances Hewett, who spent six years in Japan teaching English to Japanese school children in the public schools there, says: "Neither do the tourists

learn that these children are taught that they, being children of the Son of Heaven, are superior to all foreigners, and that their natural destiny is to bring all other peoples to subjection."

Under such conditions, it is not only probable but practically certain that the majority of Japanese who are now endeavoring to secure for themselves the privileges of American citizenship, are doing it not from any desire to help the American nation, or to become an integral part of it, but that they may better serve Japan and the Mikado. A striking evidence of this is found in an article which appeared in the *Sacramento Daily News*, a Japanese newspaper, February 4, 1920. This calls the attention of the Japanese to the dual citizenship situation, and suggests that for the present they cease registering births with the Japanese authorities, and register only with the American authorities. They are advised that they need not fear thereby to lose Japanese citizenship, because at any time they can make good their claim to it by proof of birth, etc. The article closes with the statement that the American citizenship can be used for furthering the purposes of Japan in this country. Following is part of the article:

It is urged then when as American citizens (by birth) the opportunity comes for them to reinforce the Japanese residents in America who have no citizenship rights, they must on behalf of His Majesty, the Emperor of Japan, become the loyal protectors of the race.

The following is a portion of a statement made on his return to San Francisco from Japan by Dr. Benjamin Ide Wheeler, President Emeritus of the University of California and republished in the *Japan Advertiser* of Tokio on May 22, 1920. Dr. Wheeler had gone to Japan as a member of an unofficial mission headed by Mr. Wallace

M. Alexander of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce to discuss with leading Japanese the feasibility of a friendly understanding between the two countries.

The two civilizations can not mingle, and the leaders in Japan agree that it is not well

to attempt to amalgamate them. They can not and will not understand our civilization, and no matter in what part of the world he is, a Japanese always feels himself a subject of the Emperor, with the Imperial Government backing him, much as a feudal retainer had the support of his overlord in exchange for an undivided loyalty.

The Attitude of Organized Labor towards the Japanese

By PAUL SCHARRENBURG

Secretary, California State Federation of Labor; Member of State Commission of Immigration and Housing of California

THE Oriental immigration problem has always been distinctively a California problem. For seventy years the working people of California have striven for legislation prohibiting the further immigration of Oriental laborers. Certain internationalists and intellectuals of various shades have expressed doubts about the wisdom of adopting an exclusion policy. Men and women whose occupations have brought them into direct contact with the Chinese or Japanese have never had but one opinion as to the significance of their admission. Whether in the mining camps of the early fifties, in the factories and workshops of the later periods of industrial development, or as tillers of the soil, we find the same bitter complaints of the evils of such competition.

If Californians had been able to legislate on the subject, the question would have been settled long before the Chinese had arrived in sufficient numbers to constitute a serious problem. However, under our system of government Congress claims exclusive right to regulate immigration, hence it was necessary to convince the nation before the desired relief could be obtained. This was not an easy task. The small minority within the state whose interests were opposed to re-

strictive legislation were greatly reinforced by the merchants of older states, who feared to jeopardize the rich trade of the Orient, and by idealists who were loth to recognize the world-old significance of race in the application of their theories of political and social equality. Only by the persistent and sustained effort of the working people of California first the state and then the nation have been converted to the policy of Chinese exclusion.

No sooner had the Chinese immigration problem been disposed of to the general satisfaction of Californians when the menace of unrestricted Japanese immigration came to the front with startling rapidity.

For two hundred and fifty years prior to the arrival of Commodore Perry, Japan had excluded all foreigners (barbarians) except a small number of Dutch traders who were, however, restricted to a small island. Commodore Perry anchored off Uraga on July 7, 1853. Five years later the first official treaty between the United States and Japan was signed to take effect on July 4, 1859.

Only thirty-three years later, in 1892, the American Federation of Labor Convention adopted resolutions demanding extension of the Chinese Exclusion Act so as to include Japanese. And